

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MASS, PFOR, PINT, GR, CY, TU

SUBJ: ARMS EMBARGO: MEETING WITH FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL

REF: STATE 165846

1. IT IS 0200 A.M. LOCAL TIME AND I HAVE JUST RETURNED FROM A PRIVATE MEETING WITH FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL WHICH BEGAN AT 1000 P.M. BERGUS ACCOMPANIED ME AND YAVUZALP (DIRGEN MUTUAL SECURITY AFFAIRS, MFA) WAS ONLY OTHER PERSON PRESENT. BECAUSE THE DEMIREL GOVT HAS RECEIVED MUCH ABUSE FOR ALLEGEDLY YIELDING TO USG INTERVENTION A MONTH AGO CAGLAYANGIL IS EXTREMELY ANXIOUS THAT NO REPEAT NO WORD GET OUT OF OUR MEETING THIS EVENING. IN FACT, GOT IS TELLING PRESS THAT IT WILL NOT BE IN TOUCH WITH ME UNTIL AFTER THE JULY 16 NSC AND CABINET MEETINGS.

2. OUR DISCUSSION BEGAN WITH MY DELIVERING PRESIDENT FORD'S MESSAGE TO PRIMIN WHICH CAGLAYANGIL STUDIED WITH CONSIDERABLE CARE. UNFORTUNATELY I FOUND THE FONMIN'S MOOD VERY SIMILAR TO WHAT WE HAVE RECENTLY ENCOUNTERED IN OUR DEALINGS WITH AMB ESENBEL. CAGLAYANGIL'S BASIC STANCE, MAINTAINED THROUGHOUT OUR DISCUSSION, WAS THAT THE FRASER AMENDMENT WAS UNACCEPTABLE. WHILE MAKING IT CLEAR THAT I WAS NOT DEFENDING, AND THE USG WAS NOT ADOPTING THE FRASER AMENDMENT, I SPENT A

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GREAT DEAL OF TIME GOING OVER THE VERY REAL ADVANTAGES WHICH

WOULD ACCURE TO THE GOT EVEN IF A BILL CONTAINING THE FRASER AMENDMENT ULTIMATELY PASSED BOTH HOUSES. THIS ENTAILED MAKING A PRESENTATION SIMILAR TO, BUT SOMEWHAT MORE EXTENSIVE THAN, THAT MADE BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN TO AMB ESENBEL ON JULY 14TH. THE RESULT WAS A CLEARING UP OF A NUMBER OF MISUNDERSTANDINGS THAT CAGLAYANGIL HAD GAINED, BUT UNFORTUNATELY HIS UNHAPPINESS OVER THE AMENDMENT CLEARLY PERSISTED.

3. I NEXT REVIEWED AS GRAPHICALLY AS I COULD THE EXTRAORDINARY EFFORTS OF THE PRESIDENT, SECRETARY KISSINGER AND CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS OF BOTH PARTIES WHICH HAD BEEN TAKING PLACE IN RECENT DAYS ON BEHALF OF THE US/TURKISH ALLIANCE. IN THIS CONNECTION I STRESSED THAT A LEGISLATIVE PROCESS WAS NOW DEFINITELY UNDERWAY AND THAT WE WOULD HAVE A SPECIFIC RESULT IN A MATTER OF DAYS. I, OF COURSE, PLACED PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THE PRESIDENT'S WISH THAT NOTHING BE DONE BY THE GOT AT THIS END WHICH WOULD UNDERMINE THE CURRENT USG EFFORT AT SUCH A KEY MOMENT. I SPOKE TOO OF HOW CRITICALLY IMPORTANT IT WOULD BE, IF OUR EFFORT WITH THE CONGRESS WAS SUCCESSFUL, FOR THE TURKS TO DISPLAY INCREASED FLEXIBILITY IN THE CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS AND ON THIS SCORE I REPORTED HOW EFFECTIVELY THE PRESIDENT HAD USED WITH CONGRESSIONAL MEMBERS THE ASSURANCES GIVEN HIM IN BRUSSELS BY PRIMIN DEMIREL.

4. AFTER WE HAD BEEN TALKING ABOUT ONE HOUR, THE FONMIN LEFT FOR A PREVIOUSLY SCHEDULED MEETING WITH THE PRIMIN. HE CARRIED THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE WITH HIM AND ASKED ME TO WAIT IN HIS APARTMENT UNTIL HIS RETURN. HE WAS GONE ABOUT ONE AND ONE-HALF HOURS. THE INTERIM PERIOD WAS USED FIRST BY YAVUZALP TO TRANSLATE THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE FOR USE IN THE NSC MEETING AND SUBSEQUENTLY BY BERGUS AND ME TO GO OVER AGAIN WITH YAVUZALP THE FAVORABLE RAMIFICATIONS WHICH REMAINED FOR TURKEY IN THE CURRENT FRASER-AMENDED LEGISLATION. IN THE COURSE OF THIS INTERLUDE YAVUZALP TOLD US IT WAS A MISTAKE FOR THE GOVT TO SET A SPECIFIC JULY 17 DEADLINE BUT IT WAS NOW STUCK WITH IT AND HE WAS CONCERNED OVER THE CONSEQUENCES.

5. CAGLAYANGIL RETURNED APPROXIMATELY 12:30 A.M. (JULY 16) TO REPORT THAT HE HAD DELIVERED THE MESSAGE AND THAT THE PRIMIN

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REMAINED DEEPLY GRATEFUL FOR PRESIDENT FORD'S EFFORTS. UNFORTUNATELY, HOWEVER, THE PRIMIN WAS DISAPPOINTED IN THE PRESIDENT'S WORDS AS THEY "CONTAINED NO NEW ELEMENT, NO PROGRESS." DEMIREL HAD CONCLUDED, CAGLAYANGIL SAID, THAT NOTHING BETTER THAN THE FRASER-AMENDED BILL WAS LIKELY TO EMERGE FROM THE CONGRESS AS A WHOLE. THIS MEANT THAT CONGRESS HAD NEVER GIVEN UP, AND WAS STILL NOT GIVING UP, THE LINK BETWEEN CYPRUS AND U.S. ARMS ASSISTANCE. THIS WAS BEING DONE DESPITE THE

FACT THAT IN 1967 AND ON OTHER OCCASIONS THE GREEKS HAD OPPRESSED TURK CYPRIOTS WITH THE HELP OF AMERICAN ARMS AND WITHOUT CONGRESS HAVING TAKEN A SIMILAR ACTION. THE FORMIN ENDED HIS REPORT BY SAYING DEMIREL WOULD REVIEW CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS WITH THE NSC AND THE CABINET LATER IN THE DAY (JULY 16) AND THAT AT THIS POINT HE COULD NOT "ANTICIPATE THE RESULT."

6. THIS PRECIPITATED A NEW ROUND OF LENGTHY AND FRANK DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE FONMIN AND ME. DURING THIS EXCHANGE MY MAIN POINTS WERE THAT AFTER MANY MONTHS OF WAITING WE WERE ON THE VERGE OF A CONGRESSIONAL RESULT, THAT THERE REMAINED THE CLEAR POSSIBILITY THAT THIS RESULT WOULD BE SUFFICIENTLY SATISFACTORY TO PERMIT THE CONTINUATION OF OUR SECURITY RELATIONSHIP, AND THAT AT THIS CRITICAL MOMENT IT WOULD BE CONTRARY TO BOTH OUR INTERESTS FOR THE GOT TO TAKE ANY ACTION WHICH WOULD UNDERMINE WHAT WAS BEING DONE IN WASHINGTON. CAGLAYANGIL FOR HIS PART PERSISTED IN BELITTILING THE VALUE OF THE FRASER-AMENDED BILL AND SPOKE CONTINUALLY OF THE CRITICISM THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD BE UNDER IF IT RENEGED ON ITS COMMITMENT TO TAKE STEPS AGAINST THE U.S. PRESENCE HERE IF CONGRESS HAD NOT ACTED DEFINITELY BY THE 17TH. IN RESPONSE TO THIS LAST ARGUMENT I SPOKE OF THE CRITICISM WHICH WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY COME TO THE CURRENT TURKISH GOVERNMENT IF, AFTER A WAIT OF NEARLY SIX MONTHS, ADVERSE ACTIONS WERE TAKEN JUST A FEW DAYS BEFORE THE FINAL CONGRESSIONAL RESULT WOULD BE KNOWN. THIS POINT WAS NOT LOST ON CAGLAYANGIL BUT HE CONTINUED TO EXPRESS GREATER CONCERN ABOUT TURKEY'S LOSS OF FACE ( AND THE ADVERSE DOMESTIC CONSEQUENCES TO ITS PRESENT GOVERNMENT) IF SOME GOT ACTION WAS NOT TAKEN ON THE 17TH. I SUGGESTED THIS NEED COULD BE MET BY OUR STARTING THE TALKS ON THAT DATE WHILE FOREGOING ANY ACTIONS OR DECISIONS IN CONNECTION WITH THEM UNTIL THE CONGRESSIONAL RESULT HAD BECOME KNOWN AND COULD BE FULLY ANALYZED. WHILE CAGLAYANGIL DID NOT

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FLATLY REJECT THIS SOLUTION, HE WAS CLEARLY INTERESTED IN LEAVING THE IMPRESSION THAT SOMETHING MORE MIGHT BE REQUIRED.

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